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A

LETTER

TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PORTLAND,

Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND.

by

– Thomas Campbell L.L.D. –

– Chancellor of St Macartins, Cloghor. –

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A

LETTER

TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF PORTLAND,

Lord Lieutenant of IRELAND,

TOUCHING

INTERNAL REGULATION:

WITH

PARTICULAR STRICTURES

UPON THE

LINEN BOARD, EXCISE LAWS, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A SERIES OF APHORISMS,

TRACING,

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIETY, THROUGH EVERY STAGE, FROM ITS MOST RUDE TO ITS MOST REFINED STATE; AND CONNECTING, IN ONE DEMONSTRATIVE CHAIN, THE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF

POLITICAL OECONOMY.

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TO

HIS GRACE

THE

DUKE OF PORTLAND, &c.

IN times fruitful of events, to every member of the Britiſh empire, your Grace's adminiſtration has fallen upon a period, which muſt be for ever marked as the moſt important æra in the Iriſh annals: Annals which have hitherto exhibited but the gloomy records of ſubjugation and oppreſſion.

To the long and lordly tyranny of the inſulting Dane ſucceeded a ſhort interval from foreign yoke. But that interval yielded no repoſe from inteſtine feud and domeſtic depredation. The manners of the times were not yet capable of a peaceful ſelf-government. It muſt be acknowledged that Ireland could be in no other than a barbarous ſtate, when her numerous and intimidated chieftains made a voluntary ſurrender of the ſovereignty of the iſland to Henry II.

AND whilſt this is confeſſed, it muſt be lamented that England was, at the ſame time, very far from being civilized.

"It is but t'other day, ſays Spencer, that England grew civil." Her policy was, accordingly, but ill ſuited to the people ſhe meant to govern. It was a barbarous policy! The Iriſh, except five families, were denied the benefit of the Engliſh law,—they were treated not ſimply as aliens but as enemies—an Engliſhman was by law intitled to kill an Iriſhman with impunity. No wonder, then, that ſuch licenſe, inſtead of extirpating, ſerved to confirm and propagate barbariſm.

THE ſame ſavage feuds were kept alive among the poſterity of the Engliſh ſettlers, who became great from ſpoil and intermarriage with the Iriſh. And, as the intereſts of theſe turbulent * Lords prevailed, ſome one of them was generally chief governor or lord deputy; the great object of whoſe adminiſtration was to cruſh the oppoſite faction. To remedy theſe inconveniencies was Poyning's law enacted; which becoming exceptionable, from change of circumſtances, is now modified in the beſt manner, compatible with our political and geographical ſituation.

HOWEVER, the ſovereignty of the Engliſh kings in this iſland was invariably maintained by cheriſhing diſcord among the leading men. Till the reign of Elizabeth the nation was divided between, what was called, the Engliſh and the Iriſh intereſt. Hugh earl of Tyrone was the firſt who uſed religion as a pretext to work the people to his purpoſes. Afterwards the name of Iriſh was loſt in that of the Popiſh intereſt. And that religion did continue to exaſperate the rage of party, originating in the violation of civil rights, is evident from the bloody buſineſs of 1641.

TILL

* *Hiberniores ipſis Hibernis.*

TILL after this period, it is impoſſible that the arts of peace could have made a rapid progreſs. It can only be ſaid, that during the preceding century they had not been entirely neglected; but towards the end of King William's reign, the woollen manufacture became of ſuch conſiderable conſequence as to excite the jealouſy of England, and thereby to occaſion an addreſs from both houſes of parliament, praying his majeſty *to diſcourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland*; which the king promiſes to do *all that in him lies.*

THE ſame ſelfiſh maxims governed the conduct of the late reigns. From Boulter's ſtate letters, and indeed from the practiſe of his ſucceſſors in office, it is but too plain, That it was an eſtabliſhed ſyſtem to depreſs the natives of this kingdom by every poſſible commercial and conſtitutional reſtriction, and to exclude them from all places whether of truſt, profit or honour, both in church and ſtate.

A RECAPITULATION of grievances would but ill become an addreſs to your Grace, who have been ſo inſtrumental in removing them; did not the retroſpect furniſh a ſtriking contraſt to the proſpect now before us. We now ſee an Engliſh miniſtry, ſenſible that a king and his people ſhould have but one intereſt, labouring to reſtore the loſt principles of the conſtitution by every plan of œconomy, retrenchment and exertion. And we ſee a chief governor of Ireland ſeconding theſe honeſt intentions, attaching it to England by every cordial tie of mutual confidence and reciprocal intereſt; aboliſhing party prejudices, whether religious, civil, * or military; harmonizing a long diſtracted, and almoſt alienated, nation into

* It is a new ſight—The regular and volunteer army uniting in one *feu de joy* in celebration of his majeſty's birth-day.

one people, and thus ſecuring their allegiance to their ſovereign, not by diviſion but coalition, not by incorporation but identification.

THIS conduct will more than compenſate the loſs of the thirteen colonies. This is true policy; not that duplicity of cunning, that verſatility of addreſs, that fertility of expedient, which uſurps that name; and which is ſometimes great in little matters, but always little in great ones.

LORD Chatham was a great ſtateſman. His lofty ſoul was above fineſſe. He rejoiced that the Americans had reſiſted; not that he favoured America, but that he loved England: For to his lateſt breath he was for aſſerting her right of external legiſlation over all her colonies. And to rouſe a juſt indignation againſt that deſperate enterprize, which, he foreſaw, muſt for ever alienate America, he uſes one of the moſt beautiful of even his own moſt ſplendid images. "It is true, ſays he, when the Colonies are loſt, the King will wear his crown, but it will be a crown not worth the wearing, ſtripped of thoſe bright jewels which now irradiate the brow of majeſty."

BUT at the ſame time his intuition ſaw, That three millions of unreſiſting ſubjects abroad would become the eaſy tools of unreſiſted tyranny at home. And, conformable to this idea, your Grace entered your early proteſt againſt the American war.

WHILST a philoſophic mind muſt indulge itſelf in marking nature's progreſs, through every ſtage of improvement from rude, ſavage and barbarous, to cultivated, civilized and refined; and whilſt it cannot but enjoy the moſt delicious ſympathies, at the completion of ſocial and political happineſs, in every region of this wide-extended univerſe; an Engliſhman, limiting his views

views to England, ſhould conſole himſelf with this reflection, That the unſucceſsful iſſue of the American war may eventually turn out the moſt fortunate that ever Great Britain was engaged in. For however reluctantly Lord Chatham—whoſe ambition was his country's glory—might part with the domination of England, a plain ſubject ſhould conſider that the happineſs of a people may be loſt in the aggrandizement of a crown.

No man ever ſuppoſed that England could have maintained her juriſdiction over America much longer. It is ſelf-evident that a country ſo extenſive in fertile territory, ſo rapid—beyond example—in population, and withal ſo forward in all the arts of civil life muſt, ſooner or later, have diſſolved that connection which ſubſiſted between her and the mother country. As well might we ſuppoſe that the cock-boat ſhould command the ſhip, as that England ſhould govern ſo many provinces when fully peopled: peopled by a breed of men whoſe character is a brave and generous love of freedom; and that too in a climate where only *Sciolism* could dream of degeneracy.

Of courſe, the ſooner this connection is diſſolved the better for England; for the longer ſhe continues to lean on external reſources, the more liable muſt ſhe be to fall when thoſe reſources are withdrawn. Beſides, it ſhould be conſidered that the conqueſt of America, inſtead of eaſing England of her burdens, would have introduced an arbitrary, and therefore onerous, taxation both abroad and at home. If the colonies had been brought on their knees, there would have been then the weight of all the appointments, in thoſe ſeveral ſtates, to throw into the ſcale of influence at home.

America ſubdued, Ireland's chains would have been rivited ſtill faſter; and inſtead of having her political and commercial reſtraints at this day removed, it would have been debated by what new modes of taxation the Britiſh parliament was to realize her uſurped claim of binding the people and kingdom of Ireland.

And Ireland once totally enſlaved, we ſhould in vain have looked for freedom in England. It would in future be only remembered as a tale that is told. It would only have the honour of being laſt ſwallowed up, as the wretch in the giant's cave. Whereas (theſe iſlands now connected by mutual intereſt, the only bond of eternal amity among nations) Ireland, which in extent is above two-thirds of England and Wales, but in riches not a tenth, will become acre for acre as England now is, and conſequently far more valuable than America. Ireland ſharing one conſtitution with England will alſo ſhare one fate; and by furniſhing freſh ſupplies both of men and money will become every year more uſeful; whilſt America in chains would, for the reaſons aſſigned, become detrimental.

It is demonſtrable * that 'till the waſtes of America are fully cleared, it will not be her intereſt to affect manufactures; for the inſtant that ſhe does ſo, her preternatural population will be checked. America is a wife nation, and will not therefore of a ſudden turn out a manufacturing country. England will of courſe ſhare a great proportion of her trade, and the more rapid her population, the greater will her demand be for thoſe articles which England can beſt ſupply. Conſequently, the thriving ſtate of America will, in future, turn out to the great commercial advantage of Great Britain. So that if he eſtimates

* And it is demonſtrated in the Aphoriſms annexed.

mates this matter diſpaſſionately, an Engliſhman, inſtead of repining at the independence of America, ſhould conſider it as a fine paid for renewing the charter of the franchiſes of Old England.

COMMERCIAL habits may be carried too far. They debaſe the ſpirit of ſelf-defence. The country which flinches from military exertions is undone. It becomes the abject ſlave or truckling ſubject of a mercenary force, either from without or from within. It is not neceſſary to recur to Carthage and other examples to induce this perſuaſion; it obtrudes itſelf on every underſtanding in this enlightened age.

A LUST of dommation is not peculiar to any country, it is original and univerſal in all mankind. The views of traders and mechanicks are limited by the ſuppoſed, and but ſuppoſed, intereſt of their ſhop or warehouſe; and therefore their policy is monopoly. Yet, of late, ſuch politicians have gained a great aſcendant in the councils of Great Britain. Trade was the great object of the preſent war. The balance of American trade was computed at about two millions a year in favour of Great Britain. For this precarious ſum the nation has incurred a debt of one hundred and twenty millions, for this above a hundred thouſand lives have been ſacrificed, America laid waſte, and Ireland depopulated.

BUT let me confine myſelf to Ireland. It is an object worth attention. Precluded from the honors and errors of war, let it be hers to cultivate the arts of peace.

WITH a ſoil not leſs fertile than England, and under a climate more temperate—and therefore leſs obnoxious to the calamities

calamities of inclement ſeaſons—Ireland is not at this day half peopled.

The thirteen colonies are not ſuppoſed to contain two millions of people; whereas Ireland, by the loweſt computation, has half a million more. But of theſe one-third are ſaid to be ſo miſerably poor, ſo degraded below the ſtandard of taxation, that they contribute nothing to the ſupport of the ſtate; they are not therefore to be conſidered as political men. And well it were no worſe; for, cruſhed almoſt beneath the level of their ſpecies, they are ſcarce allowed the privileges of human creatures.

How often have I heard the computation made between the profits of land ſtocked by men, and ſtocked by cattle; and the preference always given to the cattle? oppreſſion from without, oppreſſion from within, not the turbulence of their conſtitution have excited all thoſe tumults *, which have been exaggerated

* What muſt the ſtate of England have been, even ſo late as the reign of queen Elizabeth, when, in the ſingle county of Somerſet, Mr. Hume acquaints us that, "forty perſons had been there executed in a year for robberies, thefts, and other "felonies; thirty-five burned in the hand, thirty-ſeven whipt, one hundred and "eighty-three diſcharged: That thoſe who were diſcharged were moſt wicked "and deſperate perſons, who never could come to any good, becauſe they would "not work, and none would take them into ſervice: That, notwithſtanding this "great number of indictments, the fifth part of the felonies committed in the "county were not brought to a trial, the greater number eſcaped cenſure, either "from the ſuperior cunning of the felons, and remiſſneſs of the magiſtrates, or the "fooliſh lenity of the people: That the rapines committed by the infinite number "of wicked, wandring, idle people were intolerable to the poor countrymen, and "obliged them to a perpetual watch of their ſheepfolds, their paſtures, their woods "and their corn fields; That the other counties of England were in no better "condition

exaggerated and misrepresented by interested men; who are fain to lay the blame any where but at their own doors.

It has been said, for what will not be said? that the English, whether from the vices of air or soil, always degenerate here; and it has been said, that because we have not hitherto supplied our home-consumption of manufactures, that therefore indolence and ignorance are the attributes of the Irish nature. O! common sense, where art thou fled? And does between twenty and thirty leagues make such disparity in the human constitution? Alas! the character of all barbarous people is the same with that of the Germans, as given by Tacitus, "*Mira diversitate naturæ cum iidem homines sic inertiam amant, sic quietem oderint.*" The nations, now most advanced in refinement, have all passed, at one time or other, through that precise stage of civilization, in which we now find ourselves. History would be of no use if it did not mark these progressions.

Hume tells us, "That in the reign of Edward VI. the English were so ignorant of commerce that their trade had been carried on altogether by foreigners, chiefly by the inhabitants of the Hanse-Towns.—That foreign artificers in general much surpassed the English in dexterity, *industry*, &c. whence that violent animosity, which the latter, on many occasions, expressed against the former, who settled in England.—That so great was the number of foreign artizans in the city, that at least fifteen thousand Flemings alone were at one time obliged to leave it, by an order of the council."

" condition than Somersetshire; and many of them were even in a worse: That " there were at least three or four hundred able-bodied vagabonds in every county, " who lived by theft and rapine, and who sometimes met in troops to the number of " sixty, and committed spoil upon the inhabitants." Octavo, pag. 489, vol. v.

The ſame philoſophical hiſtorian relates, "That Henry VIII. confeſſes, in an edict of the ſtar-chamber, that the foreigners ſtarved the natives, and obliged them from *idleneſs* to have recourſe to theft, murder and other enormities.—That Mary laid great exactions on trade, yet in her reign was repealed a law of Edward VI. by which every one was prohibited from making cloth, unleſs he had ſerved an apprenticeſhip for ſeven years. It is ſtrange, ſays Hume, that Edward's law ſhould have been revived during the reign of Elizabeth, and ſtill more ſtrange that it ſhould ſtill ſubſiſt.*"

FROM all theſe facts, together with the taxation of woollens, it appears that manufactures had made but a very ſmall progreſs in the reign of Elizabeth, and that the principles of commerce were at that time utterly unknown. Yet the Engliſh were at no time reſtricted, from the application of their induſtry, by the jealous interpoſition of any foreign power. If then Ireland, with her hands virtually tied up, by an exterior juriſdiction, be only in the ſame backward ſtate that England was about two hundred years ago, are we to impute this to the phyſical incapacities of the people, or to the malignant influences of provincial ſubordination, deſtitute of all the vivifying principles of ſelf-government?

I AM the more induſtrious in labouring this point, that ſcepticiſm might not have a *loop to hang a doubt on*, with regard to the capabilities of this nation. For, though all may faſtidiouſly doubt, object and raiſe difficulties, yet all are not philoſophers. It muſt be owned, that till within theſe few years, *conſtitutional* queſtions have not been perfectly underſtood in this country. They were not underſtood, becauſe they were

* See pages 352—375—296—347—and 479 of the ſeveral reigns. Octavo, 1 edition.

were not agitated; and they were not agitated, becauſe the diſcuſſion could only awaken us to a humiliating ſenſe of our moſt unnatural inferiority.

YET no period of our political exiſtence was deſtitute of ſome worthies * who dared to aſſert our claims. And though the voice of right was ſo often ſtifled by the hand of power, our underſtandings were not ſo darkened, nor our ſpirits ſo depreſſed by our gloomy ſituation, as to ſink us into any groſs oblivion of ourſelves or of our reſources. We ſeized the only poſſible opportunities of reclaiming our detained rights; and we have been fortunate enough to regain them.

GREAT occaſions will always produce great men. A great matter can only match a great mind. Occaſions did concur; which were uſed with ſuch adroitneſs, that we now appear not ſimply to have availed ourſelves of them, but to have created them, for the ſingle purpoſe of our political ſalvation. I would here pour out my effuſion of praiſe to thoſe honeſt men, who not only ſtood forward in this great and good work, but who perſevered to the end; were it not that they already ſtand ſo high in the favour of your Grace and of the people, that the odour of my incenſe would be loſt in the holocauſt of gratulation.

BUT though much has been done, ſtill much remains to do. All external, and ſome internal, obſtructions to proſperity being removed, there ſtill exiſts an ample range for exertion. Now that the connection between Great Britain and Ireland, ſo happily adjuſted, can no longer diſtract legiſlative attention, your adminiſtration will become illuſtrious by directing national

* A Bolton, a King, or a Molyneux.

tional wiſdom to the moſt operative meaſures of internal regulation. That force of mind and thoſe efforts of diligence which have brought back our conſtitution to its loſt principles, when applied ſolely to political œconomy, muſt lead to the moſt ſalutary concluſions; and when the diſſipated rays of reformation are concentred in the ſingle *focus* of domeſtic arrangement, in what a luminous point of view may we not hope to ſee this kingdom?

UNDER the auſpices of a miniſtry whoſe principle is REFORM, and whoſe very exiſtence depends upon the enforcement of it, we cannot doubt of the co-operation of all conditions of men. We ſhould give ſome credit to human nature. Patriotiſm is a word no longer to be laughed at. There is an increaſing fund of it in theſe countries, ſufficient to overpower the pravity of corruption. The Iriſh parliament, however it may have been ſtigmatized *, will gladly ſupport meaſures of public benefit, as long as they are cheriſhed by a chief governor whoſe characteriſtic is virtue.

WITH what veneration do we look back on thoſe characters † who ſoftened manners, gave laws, ſettled order, led colonies and eſtabliſhed civil liberty upon the natural, unalterable and unalienable rights of mankind. My Lord, the laſt is your praiſe. Suffer me, therefore, to point at ſuch a ſlight ſketch of internal regulation as may give ſtability, form and effect to that plan of reformation which your Grace has ſo glorioufly begun. The miſcellaneous nature of the ſubject would

* See Sir Cecil Wray's letter, &c.

† Theſeus, Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, Zaleucus, Charondas, Peter of Ruſſia, Penn of America, &c.

would be incompatible with the brevity of this haſty epiſtle, did I not confine myſelf to principles. Leaving it to others to embarraſs the underſtanding by a minute detail of facts, and a parading calculation of unimportant entries in public offices, I ſhall arrange my principal obſervations under the following heads, AGRICULTURE, TRADE, MANUFACTURE, REVENUE, &c.

ON the ſubject of AGRICULTURE, though firſt in dignity, I ſhall only obſerve, at preſent, that itſelf ſubſervient to all other arts, every arrangement of political œconomy ſhould be ſubſervient to its utility.

THE ſcantineſs of our TRADE compreſſes my obſervations upon it to one ſhort paragraph. For, except ſending out two or three linen ſhips, our whole trade is comprized in the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of foreign luxuries; and that too in foreign bottoms. It is, my Lord, almoſt incredible how few ſhips belong to the natives of this country.

MY remarks upon MANUFACTURES muſt be of more extent; they ſhall, however, be as conciſe as poſſible, that your Grace's patience may not be abuſed. Since the opening of our trade, the woollen, cotton, hardware and other branches of manufacture have increaſed as much as could be expected in two years. People, unaccuſtomed to watch the ſlow operation, of even the moſt powerful cauſes, in producing their full effects of national proſperity, ſhould conſider, that, if it require ſeven years apprenticeſhip for an individual to learn any ordinary handicraft trade, it muſt at leaſt require ſeven times ſeven for the national aggregate to acquire all

the

all the habits and arts of civil life. A wiſe man will ſee future effects fully adequate to the preſent cauſe, a good man will endeavour to accelerate theſe effects; the credulous only will look for political miracles.

IRELAND has hitherto ſubſiſted on a ſingle manufacture—the Linen. It manufactures yearly to the amount of above two millions. This fact alone evinces that this country is not deſtitute of induſtry. For this was the only trade which was tolerated, all others were ſuppreſſed. Had the other branches been equally encouraged, they would have made at leaſt equal advances; for the woollen is not a greater myſtery than the linen buſineſs. Had the ſame pains and penalties been inflicted on the latter, which have been on the former, it is eaſily ſeen that the Iriſh gentry would, at this day, be importing their fine linens, as they are their woollens.

No country can thrive upon a ſingle manufacture. Our local circumſtances are generally more favourable to the woollen than to the linen trade; becauſe the *primum* of the one is our native growth, whilſt our flax-ſeed is moſtly imported. Yet an habitual zeal to cheriſh this forced manufacture has obtruded a perſuaſion, pretty general, that it is the fitteſt for us. Certain it is, that it is admirably adapted to all the mountainous or boggy parts of the iſland; and therefore Ulſter, and the parts of Connaught like Ulſter, are addicted to the ſpinning and weaving of linen; but farther it never can go, for reaſons alien to this addreſs.

BUT let us for the preſent ſuppoſe, that the linen not only is, but ought to be, the ſtaple manufacture of this kingdom; and then let me aſk this plain and ſimple queſtion—

ARE

ARE PREMIUMS NECESSARY FOR THE SUPPORT OF A STAPLE MANUFACTURE?

MY Lord, if univerſal conſent proved nothing, experience and the reaſon of the thing ſhould evince, that premiums can only ſerve to nurſe and cheriſh an *infant* undertaking, but no further. For, if any manufacture do not, in due time, get upon its legs and go alone, the idea of forcing it by premiums is abſurd, and ought to be abandoned as impracticable. I ſhall therefore follow my laſt queſtion with another—WHAT IS THE USE OF THE LINEN BOARD?

I NEVER knew any but the undiſtinguiſhing and intemperate doling out of ill-made * wheels and reels, and ſuch like bungled utenſils, in certain lines of partial connection. I will not uſe the harſh name of Job, becauſe I hate the thing. I never aſked for a wheel or a reel, and therefore never was refuſed. Deſtitute of prejudice I write, not only as an Iriſhman, but as a citizen of the world; who ſhould be ſurprized that the faſhion—for premiums are the faſhion in Ireland—ſhould prevail of giving thirty thouſand pounds a year, perhaps more, in premiums to a manufacture, ſo mature and ſo flouriſhing, as to be worth above two millions a year to the nation;—I ſay, my Lord, I ſhould be ſurprized at all this, did I not know that ſtrange errors have dominated for ages, and that the preſent age always ſtares at the laſt for being ſo infatuated.

BUT

* The ſecond report of the committee on the ſtate of the linen manufacture, in March laſt, ſets forth—That there was a grant by the truſtees of 8000 l. for wheels in 1780; another of the ſame ſum in 1778; another of the ſame, &c. &c.

But your Grace will be told that great reforms have of late been made in that department.—How much it ſtood in need of them let only *two* great defaulters tell, whoſe peculations in a few years amount to the enormous ſum of £.36,709. The words of Raynal, however, are upon this occaſion, as well as others, exceedingly applicable—" Whenever the abſurdities of our inſtitutions have been pointed out, we have taken pains to correct them, without ever daring totally to overthrow the edifice. We have remedied ſome abuſes by introducing others; and in our efforts to ſupport, reform and palliate, we have adopted ſtill more contradictions and abſurdities."

As a ſeat at the linen board is now become an object of high ambition, it is eaſily ſeen that what is here advanced will be reprobated by many. They will urge in a pleaſant vein of extenuation, that if the Linen board does no good it does no harm. What! is the miſapplication of thirty * thouſand pounds a year, nothing? If Mr. Burke's plan of œconomy reached

* The ſame (ſecond) report ſtates, that the produce of the ſeveral funds applicable to the linen manufacture, from 1757 to 1772, was 258,488l. 14s. 6d.—that the produce of the ſame funds from 1772 to 1780, amounted to 136,266l. 6s. 1d. which make an average per annum of 17,163l. And by an act paſſed in 1780, an additional impoſt at the rate of five *per cent.* on the productive amount of cuſtoms and exciſe was raiſed, towards payment of certain bounties on exported linens. What the preciſe ſum total of this duty is we have not *data* to aſcertain; but we cannot ſuppoſe it to be leſs than the 10,500l. which (being part of the duty upon teas) comes in aid to the payment of thoſe bounties, in caſe the five *per cent.* duty ſhould be inſufficient. So that all theſe, together with the ſix-pence a gallon duty on linſeed oil, cannot fall much ſhort of forty thouſand pounds a year. However we only place it at thirty.

reached to a ſingle cover on the king's table, ſhall we talk lightly of ſuch waſte in this impoveriſhed country?

But to ſee that this ſame board has not been ſimply uſeleſs and profuſe, but that it has been poſitively noxious; we need but recur to the report of the committee, appointed by parliament, to enquire into the ſtate of the linen manufacture, laſt December. Whence it appears, that complaints had multiplied to an alarming degree—That in addition to the old complaints of ſhort meaſure, mildew and concealed damages, the merchants have experienced a new one, of a very alarming tendency—rottenneſs; and that many parcels have been returned on that account. No leſs than two thouſand one hundred and forty-one pieces in one ſhip. And that all this originated from the Linen board, which, in teeth of an act of parliament, recommended the uſe of lime in bleaching, and without any diſcretion diſtributed ſeals, &c. &c.

There is one premium given by this board, which, I am aware, will have many advocates; becauſe its inutility has not been as yet condemned by experience: I mean that given towards encouraging the growth of flax-ſeed. I mentioned, above, that the *primum* of the linen manufacture is, for the moſt part, an imported article; and that, therefore, among other reaſons, the linen was not as ſuitable to this country as the woollen trade. To remedy this inconvenience it was conceived, ſome ten years ſince, that giving a bounty, on the importation of foreign flax-ſeeed, would ſuffice. But, after an experiment of eight years, and the loſs of neat ſeventy thouſand pounds, it was at length found out that it would not do. Another ſcheme was then hit upon, which, it is now ſuppoſed, cannot fail, becauſe it is the reverſe of the other; withdraws the bounty on importation, and applies it

to promote the cultivation of the ſeed at home. But, here again, it will be found, that the head is impoſed on by the heart. For though the raiſing flax-ſeed in this country be not impracticable, yet it is ſo difficult, that no poſſible bounty can render it expedient, till our general ſyſtem of tillage be more improved.

WITHOUT entering into any operoſe diſquiſition on the very different cultures of flax, for the ſpinner and for the ſeed, with their different profits and loſſes—the wetneſs of our ſummer ſolſtice, the ſeaſon when the flax is ripe—the unparalleled poverty of thoſe people who grow and work the flax, but have not winnow-cloths to expoſe their boles to the ſun, when at intervals he ſhines—and whoſe houſes are ſo pervious to the rain, that they have not a ſpot unoccupied by the cow, the calf and the pig, to preſerve it during the winter. Without claiming your Grace's attention to theſe minute objects (ſo far removed from the ſphere of your obſervation) or even to the loſs which the wealthy farmer will ſuſtain by impoveriſhing his ground, and by ſacrificing his flax to the ſeed—for the flax when ripened and kept over-year becomes good for little *—I ſhall only beg your Grace to advert to the fact, That above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds go yearly out of this kingdom for flax and ſeed; of which almoſt every ſhilling goes out of the pockets of the loweſt landholders; ſo that whatever any one pays for flax or the ſeed may, to him, be conſidered as a bounty for rearing it: nay, the certainty of parting with ſo much muſt operate more powerfully than the

* If the uncommonly dry ſummer of 1780 gave us ſome ſeed and ſome hopes, the very laſt of 1781 (though drier than we uſually enjoy) ſhould drive expectation to deſpair. However as arguments *a priori* have little weight in natural diſquiſitions, this matter will probably hang in doubt for a year or two longer, till experience explodes its futility.

the uncertain hope of getting ſo much. It may then—without any diſtortion of idea—be fairly ſaid, *that this kingdom has hitherto paid a conſtant bounty of a hundred and fifty thouſand a year for the rearing flax-ſeed*; yet the Linen board in plenitude of wiſdom ſays, if a hundred and fifty thouſand will not do let us give ſeven; which, in practice, is nearly as abſurd as it would, in theory, to inſiſt that ſeven is greater than a hundred and fifty.

I SHALL ſay little on the woollen manufacture, only to expreſs my wiſhes, that as it has been emancipated from external reſtriction, it may be left free from the intermeddling of Boards and Committees, &c. Let the manufacture be left to itſelf, and it will, in due time, do well enough, ſome where or other; and no matter where, provided it be not forced into Dublin; the very laſt place where it ſhould be encouraged.

HOWEVER, I have always obſerved, that the injudicious tampering with trade and manufacture has proved not leſs pernicious than even the malignity of ill intention. This obſervation is verified in the caſes of our ſilk and woollen warehouſes; eſtabliſhed, at a vaſt expence by the Dublin Society, to ſet one part of the trade at variance with the other—to create a rivalſhip between the profits of credit and of ready money—to looſe the bonds of connection between the weaver and the draper or mercer—and to arrogate to gentlemen, educated with other views, the ſkill and invention, the management and arrangement of the maſter manufacturer.

IF reaſon could not, originally demonſtrate, the abſurdity of theſe *regulations*, experience ſhould at length perſuade, that, inſtead of doing good, they have operated in a contrary direction; at leaſt to the amount of the bounties diſpenſed, and of

the incident expences. For the Engliſh importation is augmented in a much greater proportion than the Iriſh manufacture.

THE Dublin Society, venerable for being the firſt inſtitution of the kind in Europe, reſpectable for old ſervices, and amiable for its benevolent intentions, ſhould now ſee how prepoſterous it is to expect perfection in the fine arts (and with theſe the ſilk manufacture is intimately connected) or even in the higheſt departments of ordinary trades, before perfection is attained in the lower and ſubordinary. For inſtance, is it not premature to give premiums, for the beſt ſuperfine woollen cloths, before we have excellent fines; or for the beſt fines, before we have excellent coarſe cloths? The order of things plainly points out the eaſieſt attainments for all new beginners; and, perfection atchieved in the loweſt fabricks, we will then gradually arrive at perfection in the higheſt; from the neceſſary operation of liberty to export, without any foſtering from bungled bounties.

HAVING now diſpoſed of the article of manufacture, I come to that of REVENUE. The Hearth-money, my Lord, is a moſt unequal and therefore oppreſſive tax. For which reaſon, a window-tax, as in England, ſhould be ſubſtituted in its ſtead. In the interior parts of this kingdom, few houſes pay for more than *two* hearths, and the pooreſt muſt pay for *one*; unleſs rated on the poor liſt, or exempted by the certificate of two magiſtrates. This tax was aboliſhed in England at the revolution, becauſe reckoned, as appears from the preamble of the act, "not only a great oppreſſion to the poorer ſort, but a badge of ſlavery on the whole people, expoſing every man's houſe to be entered into and ſearched at pleaſure, by perſons unknown to him."

If this tax was an oppreſſion in rich England, what muſt it be in poor Ireland? where it is cuſtomary for the natives to abandon their houſes in ſummer; the huſbands to labour in England or elſewhere, and the wives to go a begging. But though they fly from their houſes, they cannot fly from the tax: For the hearth-collector, or his deputy, returns in the winter to exact this impoſt. And if there be the ſmalleſt informality in drawing the juſtice's certificate, "that the party is not worth four pounds in the world," then the harpy cants their diſtreſs without remorſe. How often have I ſeen troops of wretched women running almoſt naked to the magiſtrate, to implore his aſſiſtance in redeeming their wheel or their blanket? but in vain! for the certificate muſt be ſigned by two magiſtrates, and at the ſeſſions.

This, my Lord, is a grievance, yea it is a ſore evil. But the collection of the inland exciſe is infinitely greater. This ſtrikes its roots much deeper, and is not only the engine of oppreſſion, but the perennial ſource of beggary and vice. It nips agriculture in the very bud, and blaſts the infant hope of national proſperity. My Lord, I impute no ill intentions to the commiſſioners of the revenue. They have, of late, been induſtrious in ſettling the accounts of thoſe collectors who had incurred arrears, which has contributed to the apparent riſe of the revenue, for the laſt two years*.

It is however a trite obſervation, that merchants and traders are but ſorry legiſlators, becauſe the intereſt of their own line hangs an irreſiſtable bias on their minds. A partial, not a univerſal good, is always their object. If we conſider the collection of revenue as a trade, the Commiſſioners muſt be biaſſed in favour of the revenue, and therefore under a ſimilar

* Yet here Mr. G. E. Howard juſtly claims his ſhare of praiſe.

ſimilar prejudice with traders. If the revenue riſes, they think they have done right; no matter how wrong for the public at large. Now it is generally conſidered, that, hitherto, the Commiſſioners have been the ſole legiſlators for the revenue; yet the inland exciſe was in a declining ſtate for many years before the laſt ſeſſion of parliament. It has ſince riſen, but whether in conſequence of two very plentiful ſeaſons, and of the cauſe juſt aſſigned, or of the revenue law of 1780, is ſtill a queſtion.

It looks as if the object of that law was to extirpate the diſtilling of whiſkey in the country parts of Ireland: yet never was ſo much of that liquor diſtilled, as ſince it was enacted, as is evident from hence, that it never was ſo cheap. For this I appeal to the experience of every country gentleman. But the commiſſioners take their views from the cities, and from them alone, without ever attending to the ſtate of the country. And their avowed maxim—I am told—is, to confine diſtilleries to cities and market towns. This muſt be done for the convenience of collecting the exciſe, for upon any other principle it is egregiouſly fooliſh; as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter. But before I go farther on this head, let me open my plan.

Agriculture has hitherto ſo languiſhed, that the beſt parts of our country are never touched by the plow. I am, therefore, for ſetting that a going, by giving it a new ſpring, not ſimply by the ſlow incentive of manufacture, but by making Ireland, a country capable of exporting ſpirituous liquors, to the greateſt poſſible extent. I ſhould be glad to ſee whiſkey ſupply the place of rum, brandy, &c. both abroad and at home. Whiſkey is the moſt wholeſome of the ſpirituous tribes. It becomes palateable by uſe. It would be preferred, for *grog*, aboard our navy. It would be in requeſt in Norway, Denmark,

Denmark, Ruſſia, the highlands of Scotland, and all the moſt northern parts of America: nay, it might be preferred, for its variety, in the ſouthern countries, even in the Weſt Indies. If its price be ſufficiently reduced, a foreign market for it will never be wanted; it will have a full demand. And this increaſed demand for exportation, at the ſame time that it cultivates and beautifies the country, will raiſe the value of lands and the produce of the revenue.

My Lord, you may be ſurprized, that, ſpeaking of malt liquors, I ſay nothing of the brewery: but I have two reaſons, the firſt is, England is in poſſeſſion of the brewery export, and I ſhould be ſorry to claſh with her in any article. The ſecond is derived from local conſiderations. Our agriculture is not as yet in a ſtate of advancement ſufficient for a ſupply of bere and barley, even for our home conſumption; for moſt of our Iriſh beer is made of Engliſh malt: whereas ſpirits are made well enough of oats, rye, &c. ſo that we ſhould only think of ſupplying our home conſumption in beer at preſent.

It is alſo, in this place, to be obſerved, that even the conſumption of beer among our common people is comparatively very inconſiderable: which is brought as an argument for the encouragement of the brewery, in preference of the diſtillery. But, in this caſe, we muſt combine phyſical with political principles—ſtrong meat will bear, nay it requires, ſtrong drink. An Engliſh labourer, who lives on bacon and cheeſe, muſt have his ſtrong beer. It is, to him, a neceſſary of life. Our people are not in that ſtage of ſociety: they have no bacon, no cheeſe; they ſell even their butter. Their exiſtence is ſuſtained almoſt univerſally by a vegetable diet. Potatoes and milk, or potatoes and ſalt, would but ill accord with potations of ſtrong ale, and, ſtill worſe, with draughts

of

of ſmall beer: whereas a moderate quantity of whiſkey—whoſe ancient character is, that it dries more and heats leſs than any other ſpirit—would, with ſuch ſpare and moiſt food, infuſe a kindly, genial warmth. And really, of all people under heaven, the poor of Ireland ſtand moſt in need of a cordial.

I AM no advocate for drunkenneſs; and I know that markets and fairs do ſometimes exhibit barbarous ſcenes of intoxication. But this comes from the cheapneſs of *ſmuggled* whiſkey. If the revenue were under ſound regulations, the price of ſpirits, for the home-conſumption, might be put beyond the reach of exceſs among the poor. Let ſpirits be but exported at a low rate, no matter how high they are vended at home.

AND after all, theſe exceſſes are not ſo frequent as they are repreſented, by ſome who, in quiet ſtupefaction, doze away three or four hours a day, over French claret. Every tranſgreſſion of the poor, in this way, is marked; becauſe the weakneſs of their habit is ſo eaſily overcome, that, even in their moſt frantic moods, they are rather objects of pity than indignation. Beſides, in the more northern counties, where the linen manufacture has introduced induſtry, they dilute their whiſkey with water; and ſobriety is co-extended with civilization. At any rate, it is as harmleſs to get drunk with Iriſh whiſkey as with Indian rum or French brandy.

THESE reflections, my Lord, will, I hope, appear neither light nor frivolous, when it is conſidered againſt what an hoſt of prejudices they militate. They would lead to the moſt weighty and important concluſions if, under your Grace's influence, the exportation of malt liquors ſhould become an object of national exertion. For 'till the earth is cultivated,

'till

'till the profits of the farmer and * grazier are, at leaſt, equalized, this fertile country can never be much farther peopled. And if fully peopled, not, as at preſent, by half-ſtarved wretches, (whoſe native powers, cruelly coerced, have been long loſt to themſelves and to their country) but by well-fed men, able to drink beer, even ſcepticiſm will not doubt that it will become another England, "a demi-paradiſe, a fortreſs built, by nature for herſelf, againſt infection and the hand of war."

TAKING it then for granted, that, the importance of this ſubject will ſoon be generally underſtood—and it cannot be underſtood before it is propoſed—I take the liberty of ſubmitting to your Grace, certain principles, which, if duly accommodated to local circumſtances, will augment the revenue, diminiſh the expence of collecting it, and operate as a main ſpring to agriculture.

MY principles are ſimple. The FIRST is—Lower the rate of exciſe duties, in ſuch a degree, that the licenſed diſtiller may have a reaſonable profit, without temptation to fraud.

IT is acknowledged on all hands, that if the diſtiller pays the whole duty, he cannot carry on his buſineſs. What a horrible ſyſtem then muſt that be, which is confeſſedly founded upon fraud? But, ſays the commiſſioner, it is the buſineſs of the exciſe officers to prevent and puniſh fraud. What! they warp fraud in the very ſtamina of the conſtitution, and then

* Ireland is now as England was in the reign of queen Elizabeth, when, as Mr. Hume remarks, "the practice of depopulating the country, by abandoning tillage and throwing the land into paſturage, ſtill continued. Sometimes one proprietor would keep a flock of 24,000 ſheep—*unſkilful huſbandry being the cauſe why the farmer found no profit in tillage.*"

liſt an army of officers, officer upon officer, to ſubdue the hydra corruption. *Sed quis cuſtodes cuſtodiet ipſos?* They ſuffer the buſineſs to be conducted upon principles, which, if coerced into honeſty, would be impracticable, and then pay a vaſt proportion of the net produce, to trim in a certain line between clandeſtine fraud and barefaced oppreſſion.

My SECOND principle is to adjuſt the rate of duty by *annual* compoſition, according to the ſolid contents of the Still. It is well known how many times in the week, or year, a ſtill can work: apportion then the duty in a ratio compounded of the times and contents.

This will facilitate the mode, and lower the rate of collection. It is ſaid that the revenue is collected at no leſs than ſeventeen per cent. But the exciſe collection muſt coſt a great deal more, eſpecially in the country. The exciſe in the cities is, I conceive, gathered for much leſs; becauſe, there, the diſtilleries have not ſuch a latitude for fraud, and more of them are under the inſpection of one officer. So that it is by blending both expences under one, that the rate is even ſo low as ſeventeen per cent.

But in the country, where all the preſent ſevere penalties cannot reſtrain fraud in the licenſed diſtiller, and where all the dragoons in the kingdom will never ſuppreſs the clandeſtine diſtiller, conſidering the abominable corruption of exciſemen, and the nature of a great part of our country, interſperſed with mountains and almoſt inacceſſible faſtneſſes in lakes and bogs—I ſay that, in the country, the exciſe is collected at an expence, to the ſubject, more than treble the ſalaries of the ſeveral officers. Their perquiſites from the private ſtills is ſuppoſed to be even greater than from the

public

public ones. So that the preſent code, inſtead of encouraging diſtilleries in the towns (I ſpeak not now of great towns and cities) ſuppreſſes them there, and baniſhes them to the lakes, the bogs, and the mountains; where a colluſive warfare is oſtenſibly kept up between the needy diſtiller, defrauding the king, and the rapacious guager, plundering both king and ſubject. *

THE natural bias and tendency of the diſtiller is to the country, where his *grains*, *waſh*, &c. may feed cattle moſt advantageouſly. His grand article of expence is fire: Why then drive a manufacturer by fire, where fuel (as well as every other article) is deareſt? No anſwer can be given to all this, but that the intereſt and convenience of the revenue officer is chiefly conſulted in this code throughout.

LET the diſtiller, then, occupy his trade in the lake, in the bog, and the mountain: the gauger will then have only to meaſure his ſtill, fix his rate of compoſition, and receive it monthly, or quarterly, or whatever way may be found moſt expedient. No matter where he fixes, or how ſmall his ſtill, provided he pay according to the ſize.

* Premiums have been given for ſeizing unſtatutable ſtills; yet ſuch is the colluſion betwen the ſmuggler and exciſeman, that the ſtill ſeized in the morning is generally ſold at night to the ſame perſon. Were I to purſue this dirty ſubject through all its mazes of official corruption, it would only involve me in a labyrinth of private iniquity and public folly. Equally unconnected with the gauger and diſtiller, or their intereſts, farther than as a publick man, I only conſider the relations in which theſe members of ſociety ſtand to each other, and to the community. Placed as they are, mutual temptations will provoke mutual frauds, and ſeduce the heart. Minds habitually depraved can never be uſeful members of ſociety.

But it will be objected, that then the country would be deluged with whiſkey, and frantick with drunkenneſs. The very reverſe would happen. For the preſent drunkenneſs all proceeds from the cheapneſs of whiſkey, which pays no duty, and which the beggarly maker is fain to ſell clandeſtinely to all the low wretches in his neighbourhood, who will take it from him. Whereas, if there was a fair and open market, whiſkey, like every other commodity, would be diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder.

In a pamphlet, attributed to the commiſſioners of the revenue, is a table exhibiting (as it ſays) *accurately*, and at one view, the conſumption of foreign and domeſtic ſpirits in this kingdom, from 1763 to 1777 incluſive; from which it appears, that the number of gallons of foreign ſpirits conſumed is conſiderably more than double of the home-made. Had this been given as the proportion of gallons which pay duty, I ſhould not have arraigned the fact. But the annual conſumption of home-made ſpirits is placed at but ſome-what above one million of gallons. Now, it will not be denied, that above two millions of our people are whiſkey-drinkers: but two quarts of that liquor, is a very moderate *quantum*, truly, for the *annual* conſumption of individuals, guilty of ſuch frequent ebrieties.

But it will be ſaid that, of theſe two millions of people, a great many women and children never taſte whiſkey: And I ſhall, for peace-ſake, admit it; and ſuppoſing that only a twentieth of them drinks it, what will be the conſequence? Why the twentieth perſon will not have the full of the ſmalleſt wine-glaſs for his *daily* conſumption. Either then the Iriſh are the ſobereſt nation on the face of this earth, or this muſt be the worſt founded fact that ever was put upon paper.

Yet

Yet upon this, and ſuch like facts, is the code of our exciſe laws built. Laws which defeat their own end, the raiſing of a revenue, and are productive of ſuch multiplied miſchief and miſery to the kingdom at large *.

It was thrown out t'other day in the houſe of commons, by one of the commiſſioners of the revenue, that two or three diſtillers in England pay more duty than all the diſtillers in Ireland (and the propoſition is, I believe, as true of the brewery). The queſtion then may be aſked him—Why will you perſevere in collecting the exciſe on ſuch principles, that neither diſtiller nor brewer can poſſibly thrive, as they do in England?

There is ſcarce a brewery in the whole kingdom, out of the verge of a city or ſome very large town: and as to country diſtillers, they are generally the pooreſt ſet of men in the community. Yet certain it is, that the greater capital any manufacturer poſſeſſes, the more cheaply can he bring his goods

* We flattered ourſelves that growing tobacco might have ſerved part of our conſumption, and thereby kept at home ſome of thoſe vaſt ſums, which now go abroad, for that luxury, now a neceſſary, both to rich and poor. But the newspapers of the day ſhew, that the very reverſe is the ſpirit of the revenue law. For though it does not actually tax our home-growth, it lays it under the pains and penalties of fine and forfeiture, if the farmer does not ſubmit, to exciſe juriſdiction, even the ſixteenth part of an acre. The culture of tobacco in this country, has been hitherto an affair of mere experiment; but every experiment has given enſurance of ſucceſs. If it ſucceeds in Scotland we ſhould have no doubts about it here. Now a ſingle farmer, in that more rough climate and leſs fertile ſoil, did laſt year ſave a crop of fifty acres of it; he had indeed learned the culture of it in America and brought hands from thence. Now I queſtion whether double that quantity has as yet been cultivated in all Ireland. Yet the commiſſioners already meditate taxation; which will, probably, be premature twenty years hence. But as we continue bounties to our ſtaple manufacture, analogy of reaſon requires that we ſhould diſcourage and ſuppreſs every effort of honeſt agriculture.

goods to market; and, of courſe, the better will the wealthy diſtiller be enabled to ſuppreſs the inland *pirate*.

If then the commiſſioners had cognizance of only 1,115,352 gallons in 1777 (and of but 1,094,026 in 1779) and if it be a poſtulate which every body will grant, that this is not a tenth of the conſumption of the whole kingdom, may it not be fairly ſuppoſed that the exciſe might be trebled? even without the benefit of exportation.

If diſtilleries were carried on upon a fair, reaſonable, annual compoſition, then the fair trader (now a ſoleciſm in terms) would not only find his advantage in extirpating the clandeſtine diſtiller, but he would venture to inform, in open day, againſt him. As the caſe now ſtands, the licenſed worker conceals as much as he can, and, dreading detection himſelf, he dares not inform.

Hence come all that drunkenneſs, idleneſs and riot, ſo much and ſo juſtly complained of. And no wonder, when at leaſt nine gallons out of ten pay no duty; and (without any exportation) almoſt all is diſperſed, among the dregs of the community.

Where then would be the harm, if a diſtiller (or a brewer) were allowed to thrive and become a reſpectable member of the community? Would not the ſenſe of mankind be in his favour? Would they not feel an intereſt in ſupporting him? Would they not ſet their faces againſt the clandeſtine diſtiller?

It is a truth never to be forgotten, that tranſgreſſion is the firſt effect of unreaſonable laws. Laws ſhould be relative to human nature. Men are not angels; but the laws which conſider

conſider them as devils, will meet with a diabolical obedience. In a great arrangement of finance, ſo eſſentially connected with the vital intereſts of the nation, comprehenſive views of men and things ſhould engage the mind *. I never could account for the preſent ſyſtem of collecting the exciſe, but upon the principle of influence and patronage. The bill for ſuſpending the votes of revenue officers in England was a wiſe one. Here it will be equally expedient.

Had the cuſtom-houſe afforded me the preciſe quantity of exciſe duty, together with the number of exciſe officers, in each collector's diſtrict, it would have been eaſy to demonſtrate that, over almoſt all the internal parts of the kingdom, the exciſe revenue is collected at near double ſeventeen per cent. But leſt I ſhould appear to ſport on opinion, I ſhall lay down my grounds for the aſſertion.

THE home-made ſpirits of 1779 was but 1,094,026 gallons, which paid the duty of 63,838*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.* Now there are thirty-ſix collectors of exciſe, with a hundred pound ſalary each, and allowing but twenty officers in each diſtrict with forty

* Our horizon ſhould not be bounded by that ſpot, though a capital city, in which we reſide; nor ſhould our information, even on an exciſe queſtion, be extracted ſolely from one or two exciſe officers, and as many city brewers or diſtillers. Whenever we truſt to ſuch intelligence alone, our enquiries are frittered down to a braggardly detail; where all ſight of public good is loſt in ſome pitiful private intereſt. Accordingly we find that the pamphlet, to which I have alluded, is made up chiefly of certain calculations to aſcertain the profits of ſixty-three barrels of ale, ten ſtone of malt, and two pounds of hops. And in anſwer to a report of a parliamentary committee, to conſider the petition of the corporation of brewers, we are there put off with the difference of cubical inches in the beer and ale gallon. All this might do very well for the regulation of a private brewery, but it has been deſtructively applied to the great purpoſe of regulating the revenue at large.

forty pounds a year (which muſt be reaſonable enough conſidering that there are three or four ſurveyors, in each, at ſixty pounds). The bare ſalaries of theſe ordinary officers comes to 28,800*l.* (without ſaying any thing of preventing officers, inſpectors, ſurveyors general, and inſpectors general, &c.) which I fancy will be rather under, than over, the ſalaries of the ſeveral exciſe officers, and conſequently that my aſſertion is well founded. For though it will be objected that theſe officers do collect the exciſe of beer, ale, &c. yet theſe are, all put together, inconſiderable, out of the great towns; and will not counter-balance our mixing the town and country exciſes in one ſum.

In this calculation the bare ſalaries are ſet down: but that is reckoned a poor office, in the country, which does not yield thrice its ſalary in perquiſites. Collections are eſtimated from three hundred to ſeven hundred pounds a year, and ſo on in proportion of ſurveyors and gaugers. Suppoſe, however, that the perquiſites are but double the ſalary, and then the ſum paid to exciſe officers will be 86,400*l.* conſiderably more than the whole of the net revenue, which goes into the exchequer.

It cannot be pleaſant to encounter even the ſuſpicion of perſonality; but I flatter myſelf that the largeneſs of the ground I have taken will make it unneceſſary in me to diſclaim it. Which, however, I do in the moſt ſolemn manner. Meaſures not men are my objects. And, now that a general reformation is expected, I am emboldened to lay my ſentiments at your Grace's feet.

When penſions, places and abſentees carry near a million of caſh yearly out of a country, whoſe currency is computed at but a million and a half, all meaner conſiderations have been,

been, hitherto, loſt in the immenſity of that grievance. The ſevere taſk devolves on me of diſcuſſing ſubjects, whoſe grievance is veiled from the public eye, under the ſpecious plauſibilities of public good. I undertake it, however, with the leſs reluctance, becauſe I am perſuaded, that, though my ſuggeſtions may not at once become popular, they may, nevertheleſs, furniſh matter for diſcuſſion; and may be matured into a more improved plan than I am able to ſketch out.

I MENTIONED, above, that premiums are the faſhion in Ireland. After what has been ſaid of the linen and woollen manufactures, it will ſufficiently ſubſtantiate that idea, to obſerve that the corn bounties, for the years 1778 and 1779, amount to no leſs than 144,302*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* This is a ſum ſo monſtrous, that it demands a more minute inveſtigation than it has yet found,—whether the nation has at all indemnified itſelf, by an increaſed export and a diminiſhed import of grain. There are authentic documents; and there has been an experiment of twenty years.

HOWEVER, nobody is ignorant, that ſuch * ſhameful abuſes have diſgraced this mode of encouraging agriculture, that it is wonderful

* Without reſorting to any other authority, I appeal ſimply to the Report of the parliamentary committee appointed February laſt, to enquire into the diſburſements and effects of the ſeveral bounties for the encouragement of tillage, by carriage of corn, &c. which reports, that by forgery and perjury double bounties had been frequently obtained for the ſame parcels—that carmen in the country have given a greater price than the market in town would allow—that magiſtrates names and certificates were forged—that the quantities ſworn to have been eraſed and increaſed—that it was uſual to write the name of an illiterate witneſs while he held the pen.—Mr. Smyth, the deputy paymaſter, being examined, ſaid, the frauds were ſo many and ſo various he could not attend to them—that corn brought coaſtways got the land-carriage bounties, &c. &c. And in the repreſentation

wonderful the Legiſlature ſhould ſtill perſiſt in giving bounties for land-carriage of corn to Dublin, *from the moſt remote parts* of the kingdom. All that ever ſhould have been thought of was, *to give the bounties for carriage to the next ſea-port towns*, eſpecially Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, &c. It is not unreaſonable, that the capital ſhould have ſome preference; but, really, the habit of ſending the maintainance of Dublin from Kinſale or Derry, by unproductive cars and horſes, rather than by productive ſailors and ſhipping, has, upon the face of it, ſomething ſo abſurd as to impeach the good ſenſe of this nation. And, after all, Dublin would have a more plentiful ſupply by a reaſonable bounty applied to the carriage coaſtways. At any rate, there ſhould be a vaſt retrenchment. But, to finiſh this long letter by a ſhort recapitulation:

I HAVE ſuppoſed that the ſums given by parliament for the encouragement of the linen manufacture amounted to at leaſt thirty thouſand pounds a year. If even a conſiderable inaccuracy ſhould be found in this ſtatement, it will but little invalidate *a firſt principle*, viz. That thouſands a year given in premiums to a ſtaple manufacture is an improvident waſte of public money. Beſides, we have ſeen, from the parliamentary reports of this very ſeſſion, that the Linen Board, inſtead of being uſeful, has of late been hurtful.

WE have likewiſe ſeen that the great premiums given to the woollen and ſilk warehouſes, eſpecially the former, are detrimental alſo: It being now generally underſtood that the good

ation of this matter to the Lord Lieutenant, ſigned by all the commiſſioners, it is admitted, that "*Thoſe parts of the requiſites which depend upon affidavits before the paymaſter, are got over either by perjury or by the colluſion of the clerks in office*—and that the check which the law has endeavoured to put upon frauds in this premium, has been ſhamefully perverted to the purpoſes of fraud, &c. &c."

good influences of the Dublin Society have been inverſely as the ſums it has diſpoſed of at different periods. So that, without carrying œconomy to any degree of auſterity, there may be a retrenchment, in theſe two articles alone, to the full amount of what is now given to the Linen Board. The ten thouſand pounds a ſeſſion (now granted to the Dublin Society) will be fully ſufficient, for both thoſe venerable matrons, to buy gewgaws and babies, for their little children to play withal.

How far a judicious arrangement might increaſe the revenue, in a year or two, I ſhall not preſume to decide; but this I will venture to ſay, that the preſent *regulations* will never raiſe it much; and that they will continue to obſtruct the progreſs of ſobriety in manners, and diligence in buſineſs. What I have written, on this head, flows from the ſympathetic feeling of thoſe diſtreſſes, which I have ſo often lamented, but could never, till now, hope to ſee removed.

With entire confidence in the rectitude of your Lordſhip's mind, and perfect conſciouſneſs of the purity of my own intentions,

I am, My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's

Moſt dutiful

Humble ſervant.

Dublin, *June* 24th, 1782.

P. S. When

P. S. When I ſtated above (pag. 6) that Ireland, in extent above two-thirds of England and Wales, was not in riches a tenth, I conſidered only the relative proportion of their current ſpecies; and that too not very accurately. But if we compare the internal wealth in other reſpects, and the external advantages of trade and commerce of the two countries, theſe will be found forty times greater in England than Ireland; yet the latter is taxed in proportion to one-fourth of England.

ERRATA.

Page 51, for *manufacture* read *manufactury*.
55, for *ſteady* read *temperate*.

APHO-

APHORISMS

OF

POLITICAL OECONOMY.

INTRODUCTION.

THE arts form one ſtupendous pyramid. Tillage is the baſement ſtory: The common handicrafts, among a rude ſociety of farmers, compoſe the ſecond: The more improved mechanicks, in progreſſive civilization, make the third: The trades miniſterial to luxury and commerce furniſh the fourth: and the fine arts crown the whole, forming the apex of the pyramid.

OF all theſe, agriculture alone favours population, by its direct and immediate influence; the reſt only do it, at ſecond hand, by a reflex and intermediate operation. Bread, is figuratively called the ſtaff of life, becauſe it ſupports it. Without it there can be little population, and no arts. Foreign trade is, at any time, of ſmall conſequence, compared with internal induſtry. Trade abroad, without induſtry at home,

is hurtful, not beneficial: for it only ſupplies the landlord with luxuries, which he may do without, and with manufactures, which ſhould be ſupplied by his own tenants.

But, as it argues great ignorance of human nature to ſuppoſe, that the rich will diſpenſe with any attainable luxury, it ſhould be the policy of ſtates to render this principle ſubſervient to the publick good, by promoting induſtry. And thus by employing a number of hands, unneceſſary for the cultivation of the earth, luxury may remotely tend to population.

Population, however, may make, perhaps, its greateſt progreſs before the introduction of luxury; as is ſeen in the caſe of North America. And luxury may exiſt in the midſt of depopulation. It not only may exiſt, but it actually does ſo, in many parts of Ireland; where we ſee but two claſſes of men; a pampered gentry, and a half-ſtarved commonalty.

New-born to commerce, our minds have not been exerciſed on the ſubjects connected with it. If the ſequel be not the dream of ſpeculation, it may, at leaſt, furniſh hints both for theoretic and practical diſquiſition. By recurring to the infancy of ſociety, the reader will be conducted, ſummarily, through every ſtage of its progreſs, to its moſt refined and manly ſtate of improvement.

Certain Aphoriſms are therefore ſubjoined, whoſe uſe, if they have any, will be ſeen in their application to the preſent ſtate of Ireland, and they will, at the ſame time, confirm the general poſitions in the foregoing letter.

DAWN

DAWN OF SOCIETY.

APH. 1. If we ſuppoſe a country, to be given up entirely to flocks and herds; the number of theſe will depend upon the fertility of the ſoil. Becauſe, the quantity of food muſt limit the effects of the generative inſtinct: for to produce, without the means of preſerving, the ſpecies, would be as ineffectual to multiply it, as not to have propagated.

THE numbers of cattle could not, in any year, exceed the given limit: but they might, in ſome years, fall ſhort of it; either from the inclemency of the ſeaſons, or from whatever other cauſe might diminiſh the quantity of provender, yielded by the ground.

APH. 2. If we ſuppoſe, again, That into this country is introduced a certain number of human creatures, whoſe food is, in like manner, to be gathered from the ſpontaneous productions of the earth; this ſame territory would ſupport a conſiderable number of the human, without diminiſhing the given number of the brute ſpecies: becauſe, the greater part of their food might be ſupplied by the milk, by the young, and by the fleſh of ſuch cattle, as would otherwiſe periſh for want of provender.

AND in this caſe, as in that of cattle, the numbers of people would be limited by the fertility of the ſoil. The population might, indeed, vary in different years, from the intemperature of climate, or whatever malignant influence might leſſen the uſual quantity of ſpontaneous ſuſtenance: But the numbers of people could not poſſibly exceed that limit

we have aſſigned; and their *medium* numbers would not probably be much unequal.

APH. 3. In all moral and political queſtions, man ſhould be regarded not as an individual but as a ſpecies. The animal may be found in * ſolitude; but man, the ſpecies, is ſocial. Society could not exiſt without government, it therefore implies ſubordination. The parental, filial, conjugal and other relations put this matter beyond the arreſt of doubt. Individuals, then, are not, by nature, equal; and, if they are not equal, they are not independent.

THIS phyſical inequality, both in the powers of body and mind, diſcovers itſelf in every ſtage of the ſocial progreſs. We cannot conceive a body of men, like a drove of cattle, under the ſole dominion of mere inſtinct; becauſe we know them to be inveſted with higher faculties.

THESE faculties will be exerted to meliorate their condition, in a certain degree. Finding themſelves rivalled, in the rewards of the chace, by beaſts of prey, their care will extend to the preſervation of the gregarious tribes. They will be, not only hunters, but ſhepherds.

PROPERTY.

APH. 4. From recollection of the paſt, they will become provident againſt future evils. The hoarding propenſity will ſhew itſelf, by ſtoring up the ſpontaneous and not periſhable fruits

* Strange! that ſo ſuperlative a writer as Monteſquieu ſhould wander, out of his way; into the very deſarts, in queſt of a two-legged animal, without feathers, but overgrown with hair, for his model of humanity. The ſolitary creature, on which he founded his ſyſtem, was not a man, but a monſter.

fruits of the autumn, for the rigors of the winter. And thus a property will be eſtabliſhed.

APH. 5. As the quantity of proviſions is thus, in effect, augmented, the numbers of people will be augmented in the ſame proportion. But human efforts will not ſtop here: experience will find out, that the ground may be aſſiſted to yield her increaſe; and it will be aſſiſted. Labour will be employed, not only to increaſe the ſtores of provender for the cattle, but alſo to make bread for the food of men; and thus the numbers of both will be multiplied.

HAVING ſeen (APH. 2.) that the population of any country, unaſſiſted by art, is preciſely as its fertility, we may now lay down the following univerſal theorem: *The relative population of all countries is, in a ratio compounded of the fertility of the ſoil, and of the induſtry of the people.*

SEPARATION OF TRADES.

APH. 6. Ideas of property conſtitute a climacterick in the age of ſociety. It is the characteriſtick of ſavages to have all things in common. As ſoon as they appropriate to individuals, it is generally conſidered that, the ſavage is loſt in the barbarous * ſtate.

BUT,

* All ſtates, in which mankind have been found, are equally natural, and therefore all laws (except the revealed) are equally laws of nature. Civil laws are ſo called, from their being relative to human nature in a more improved, i. e. civilized ſtate. Theſeus was of opinion, that men could not be thoroughly tamed in families, ſcattered through the country; he therefore collected the Greeks, from their barbarous hamlets and villages, into one city; and eſtabliſhed over them the ſovereignty

BUT, be the ſtate called ſavagery or barbariſm, certain it is, that each member of it exerciſes the rudiment of every trade, miniſterial to his more commodious exiſtence. With a flint or a bone he flays the bear, and dries the ſkin, in the ſun, for his covering; he ſcoops out the earth for his cave, or entwines the branches of trees for his hut; he hollows the ſtem of the alder for a canoe, or covers with a hide his hazel currach for a bark: So that he is his own taylor, butcher, ſmith, maſon, carpenter, ſhoemaker and ſhip-builder.

IT cannot be ſuppoſed that, with attentions thus diſtracted on all, he can ever arrive at perfection in any. Yet even here the inequality of talents will break forth. The ſavage who firſt hardened the point of his ſpear in the fire was a genius; but he was a greater who tipped it with the bone of a fiſh, or the tooth of a boar. Accident would ſtrike out new inventions, and theſe would be improved by penetrating minds. Men would follow their propenſities. One would acquire a facility in one operation, and another in another. Habit would confirm this a taylor, that a maſon, and a third a ſmith or a carpenter.

THIS obvious utility of the thing would ſoon point out a ſeparation of the different handicraft trades from each other.

BARTER.

APH. 7. One man, having acquired a knack in making the implements of huſbandry, would be applied to by his leſs ſkilful

ſovereignty of civil law, in Athens. The ſeveral ſtates, or ages, of ſociety—the ſavage, the barbarous, the civilized and embelliſhed, may not improperly be called its climacterics.

ſkilful neighbour to furniſh him with tools, on condition of being ſupplied with corn, or milk, or fleſh, or whatever commodity the workman wanted and the other had. This is the origin of barter, and barter was the firſt ſort of commerce.

Aph. 8. Without barter, trades could not have been diſentangled from each other: for he who made the plough would have been obliged to hold it alſo, for his ſubſiſtence; unleſs that ſubſiſtence could have been procured in exchange for his labour.

But from the numerous advantages, from barter and the ſeparation of trades, the proſpect of ſociety brightens up. The ſmith applies to his anvil, the weaver to his loom, the taylor to his board, and the ſhoemaker to his laſt.

The farmer is, of courſe, better cloathed, better fed, and better lodged than if his ſingle powers had been diſtracted in providing every neceſſary and conveniency of life. The artizan alſo, in his turn, finds a mutual advantage in commuting his works for thoſe of his fellow mechanicks, and for the products of the farmer.

Thus the eaſe of all parties is conſulted in this diviſion of labour. And as the earth is enabled, by a more ſkilful cultivation, to yield a much greater quantity of food than it would otherwiſe do, it is evident (from Aph. 4.) that population will be augmented, in proportion to the ſurplus of proviſion ſupplied, by an induſtrious application of talents.

INCON-

INCONVENIENCIES ARISING FROM BARTER.

APH. 9. Under the circumſtances we have deſcribed, it could not be eaſily aſcertained, how far a ſociety might advance in the arts of civil life: for ideal poſſibility and matter of fact do not always coincide. But it is not hard to diſcern that the firſt check to induſtry, and conſequent population, would ariſe from the inconveniencies attending upon barter.

THE farmer would not think of ſtoring up more (of ſuch a periſhable commodity as) grain, than neceſſary for the ſupply of his own family, and of ſuch artizans as deal with him. In like manner the ſhoemaker would not make more ſhoes than he could exchange with the farmer or other tradeſmen.

APH. 10. In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety an incentive would be wanting to allure its members to any exertions more than ſufficient to provide the neceſſaries and firſt conveniencies of life. It is not eaſy to believe, though the thing be poſſible, that the trade of a butcher could there ſubſiſt; becauſe it would be ſo difficult to adjuſt the values of exchangeable commodities for a joint of mutton or a few pounds of beef.

APH. 11. The only conſiderable inequality of property would be ſeen in the poſſeſſion of flocks and herds; which would obviouſly tend to obſtruct agriculture and diſcourage population. Of courſe, ſociety, in ſuch a ſtate, would be far removed from any degree of refinement: it could not even with propriety be called civilized, for there could be no cities or even great towns.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION OF MONEY.

Aph. 12. To remove the inconveniencies ariſing from the interchange of one commodity for another, it was found expedient to fix upon ſome common meaſure and ſubſtitute for their value, as the moſt eaſy inſtrument for transferring the property in them from one hand to another. And thus the introduction of money gave a new ſpring and freſh energy to commercial and ſocial intercourſe.

Aph. 13. Now, the farmer began to find his advantage in accumulating the redundancy of a plentiful ſeaſon, not only for the ſucceeding winter, but as a ſtore to provide againſt an expected ſcarcity in the enſuing year. And, now, the different tribes of mechanicks learned to lay up the price of their labours, in order to be always fenced againſt the incurſions of human ills.

Aph. 14. It was not neceſſary that Money ſhould conſiſt of the precious, or even baſer metals: Bits of wood, or bits of leather (as bits of paper at this day) if current by common conſent, were ſufficient to remove the difficulties of exchange by barter.

The hiſtory of mankind does not reach to the period earlier than the uſe of money. Homer mentions it. The ſons of Jacob put money in their ſacks. The very Indians have their wampum.

Aph. 15. But obſerve—Though money did wonderfully facilitate the tranſactions of traffick, yet as long as the material of money was iron and braſs, given and received by

weight, the very bulk and heavineſs of theſe metals hung as a clog upon the wheels of circulation.

APH. 16. This impediment was taken off by ſubſtituting the precious metals in their room. And the affixing ſtated values to certain pieces of theſe metals, by coinage, ſtill farther expedited the ends of commerce.

THE progreſſive refinement of ſociety is ſtrongly marked in the very amendments both in the matter and form of money; which, however ſtigmatized as the ſource of much evil, is nevertheleſs the fountain of more good.

TOWNS AND CITIES.

APH. 16. Before the uſe of money, marts might have been eſtabliſhed for the interchange of commodities by barter. The facility of this exchange enlarged the concourſe of traders and formed thoſe marts into the permanent reſidence of certain families; who found their intereſt in ſupplying ſtrangers with an aſſortment of ſuch goods as the country afforded, and with the accommodations of life. This gave riſe to towns. Cities* are but great towns.

APH. 17. Great towns, however, could ſcarcely exiſt before the uſe of money; and great cities did not probably ariſe before the coinage of money. This improvement extended the ſphere of commerce and the limits of cities.

APH. 18. It has been argued whether a great city be a great good or a great evil in a nation. Now certain it is, that more

* I do not acquieſce in the modern definition of a city, for cities were prior to biſhops.

more deaths, out of any given number, generally take place in a city than in the country; from whence it has been concluded, that great cities are but the graves of the human ſpecies.

But admitting that a city reſidence be not ſo favourable to longevity as the country—and this is all that can be proved—it is to be enquired whether longevity itſelf be a bleſſing. Beſides, it does by no means follow, that cities are unfavourable to national population at large: on the contrary, we are perſuaded that they are, upon the whole, moſt favourable to it, by giving a ſpring to induſtry, and conſequent population, both in town and country.

We have ſeen (Aph. 5.) that the population of any country is preciſely as its induſtry. And that no country can be ſaid to be fully peopled, 'till every acre of land in it is cultivated to the higheſt pitch of poſſible perfection; muſt be intuitively evident.

We have ſhewn (Aph. 8.) that, if all men were farmers, the earth could never have been well cultivated, and that it would of courſe be thinly inhabited. But by the ſeparation of trades the earth becomes better cultivated, and by the redundancy of food produced, above the farmers demand for his own conſumption, a proportionable number of handicrafts are maintained, i. e. population is increaſed.

From (Aph. 12.) the introduction of money, commerce and ſociety receive a new and elaſtic ſpring. Men fall into different ranks from an accumulation of that ſpecies, which becomes not only a common meaſure but an univerſal ſubſtitute for almoſt every thing elſe. Men of real and perſonal

property multiply, who are all to be maintained by the farmer. For the "King himſelf is ſerved of the field." But who would dig if all were kings? Of courſe population and agriculture go hand in hand.

SUPPOSE it then, what is objected, to be true, that cities are the graves of the human race; ſtill they increaſe population in a much greater degree in the country: becauſe, without the induſtrious, the affluent and idle in the city, to ſtimulate the tiller of the earth, the ſphere of his activity would be limited by the conſumption of his neighbouring, and thinly ſcattered, artificers in the country.

LOOK at the lands near any town or city, are they not always better cultivated, i. e. do they not produce, acre for acre, more food than thoſe which are more remote? And is not the extent, of this ſuperior cultivation, always proportioned to the populouſneſs of that town or city?

INCREASE the magnitude or population of the town or city, you proportionably extend the limits of this improved tillage; and in the natural order of things, by increaſing the number and magnitude of cities, you of neceſſity bring agriculture and induſtry to the higheſt poſſible pitch.

CITIES may be ſo increaſed as to render every the moſt remote acre in a nation as well cultivated as the gardens in the ſuburbs. Farther than this they cannot be increaſed, either in number or magnitude, upon the principles we have hitherto laid down. For we have confined our views to internal commerce, without any conſideration of foreign trade. Of which, anon.

BUT

But from what we have ſaid, it may be ſeen, that as the multiplication of artizans in the country, in the firſt inſtance, augments the tillers of the ground, ſo the multiplication of citizens *a fortiori* produces the ſame effect; and till every acre of ground in any country is cultivated, to the higheſt poſſible advantage, we ſhould not complain of the increaſe of cities—as will be farther ſeen from what follows.

FOREIGN TRADE.

Aph. 17. All ſavage nations are addicted to indolence. If a country be diligent in buſineſs you may pronounce it civilized, and it will be more or leſs ſo as it partakes more or leſs of diligence or ſloth. The ſtage of improvement between the ſavage and civilized ſtate I have called barbarous.

Luxury is a relative term. To the naked ſavage, a blanket muſt be a luxury in winter; and to the barbarian, a whole ſuit of cloaths. The civilized man calls whole cloaths a neceſſary of life, and his luxury lies in the expence and faſhion of his dreſs.* The ſavage will hunt for his dinner, and if diſappointed in the chace will, without much inconvenience from want of food, refreſh himſelf with ſleep and an acorn under the oak. But, if next day's chace reward his toil, he will regale himſelf with drinking the blood, and eating a limb, yet quivering, of that animal (whether brute or human)

* The ſtory of the Highland chief and his ſon (as related, I think, by lord Kaims) is here appoſite enough. They were benighted, perhaps in troublous times, on the mountains. The ſon rolled a ball of the ſnow to repoſe his head upon; but the father came and kicked it away with indignation, and exclaimed, *What, ſir, are you growing effeminate?* Now it ſeems that a pillow of ſnow was, to this Scottiſh chieftain, an article of luxury.

human) which his ſpeed has overtaken and his dexterity diſpatched. And, as if provident of futurity—which he is not—he will devour ſufficient for ſeveral unſucceſsful days, as they ſay the camel takes in drink in the deſerts.

AGILITY of body, careleſsneſs of life, patience of fatigue, climate and hunger, characterize barbarous nations, almoſt univerſally; for they are not quite diveſted of ſavage habits.

CIVILIZATION, by refining the tone of appetite and enlarging the catalogue of wants, quickens exertion, animates enterprize, and invigorates invention; to ſtop the inroads of real and ſuppoſed evil, and to obtain the poſſeſſion of the ſeveral means of gratification.

APH. 18. Luxury then becomes another powerful and elaſtic ſpring to induſtry, by multiplying the inſtruments of refinement.

IN itſelf conſidered, Luxury is neither virtuous nor vicious. It is only the attribute of a certain ſtage of national improvement: for what was luxury in one age becomes a neceſſary in another. *Quæ fuerant vitia mores fiunt.*

BUT, in any ſtage of ſociety, the individual may carry luxury to a vicious exceſs; if it makes him ſhrink from laudable exertions. The ſame movements of the mind mark character in every ſtage of ſocial exiſtence. The ſagacious eye will recognize the ſqueamiſh epicure in the gormandizing barbarian, and ſpy out the puny fop, or pert coxcomb, among the feathered and painted ſavages.

APH.

APH. 19. To luxury we owe foreign trade, for all in all. For by an acceſſion of deſires, which cannot be gratified by native productions, we are impelled to ſearch for them in regions the moſt removed. Hence population is wonderfully increaſed. The ſea becomes a hive for receiving the redundancy which ſwarms from the country to the city; and by re-acting on the induſtry of the country, it makes the earth yield proviſions with annual increaſe: but the earth would not increaſe her quantity without more labour beſtowed upon it, i. e. without more hands.

CONSEQUENTLY as the numbers of people in cities increaſe the numbers in the country, ſo the numbers of ſeamen, employed in merchant ſhips, increaſe the population of the country; for the ſame reaſons—and for another: Merchandize, by increaſing the quantity of gold and ſilver, ſupplies an equivalent for ſtill more productive induſtry, and by the permanency of this ſubſtitute, ſweetens the toils of labour, which is the ſource of food and population.

APH. 20. The country then may be conſidered as one great manufacture or elaboratory of human creatures, which will never fail of ſupplying cities and armies (both by ſea and land) with its productions of men and proviſions, in exact proportion to the demand. They act and re-act on each other. And as long as the cities and their merchant venturers thrive and proſper, the country will go hand and hand in proſperous induſtry and thriving population.

APH. 21. Upon the whole—luxury is the parent of foreign trade. Domeſtic trade and internal intercourſe may make a city, but not a great one; at leaſt in climates which do not produce all the luxuries as well as neceſſaries of life.

WE

WE have ſeen (APH. 18.) the neceſſary influence of great cities on national population. So that luxury, like money, far from being an evil, is the greateſt public good; and without it no country, even the moſt fertile, could be thickly inhabited; and the few inhabitants in it could exiſt but in a barbarous ſtate.

LUXURY gives the laſt and higheſt finiſh to the ſocial ſyſtem, by its taſte for the embelliſhments of life. It is the omnific incentive to exertion both in city and country, both at ſea and on ſhore. It animates avarice, it rouſes indolence, it inſpirits commerce, it builds towns and ſhips, it enlarges cities and fleets, it clears the foreſt, reclaims the marſh, cheers the waſte, and populates the deſert.

BEFORE the rigid moraliſt condemns this panegyric on luxury, let him conſider, that books are an article of luxury, and that too of the higheſt order. By them we are regaled with all thoſe dainties which paſt and preſent times have catered for us; by them both readers and writers may be ſaid to think by many minds, as by them the author may be ſaid, in communicating his thoughts, to work by many hands.

COROLLARY 1. It muſt be from hence evident, what benefits will accrue to this kingdom by beautifying its capital, and by rendering Dublin a mart of refined accompliſhments, a ſcenery of polite amuſements. This will, more than any thing elſe, curtail the abſentee liſt. Men of fortune will naturally reſort to where they find the higheſt gratifications. But no man will go, or at leaſt live, abroad, if he expects equal entertainment at home. An Iriſh nobleman, now reſtored to his conſtitutional conſequence, will, more than ever, wiſh

wiſh to find thoſe elegancies of life at home; for ſake of which, he was ſunk into downright inſignificance abroad.

Corol. 2. We have ſeen that, in the ordinary progreſs of ſociety, cities are neceſſary to great population. If America be adduced as an inſtance to the contrary, let it be remembered, that America has not, like other countries, proceeded by ſlow degrees from infancy to maturity. She was, if I may ſay ſo, born an adult. She ſprung like wiſdom, armed *cap-a-pie*, from the divine intellect. There was there no intermediate ſtate between the ſavage and the civilized. The ſavage native was extirpated, and his civilized ſpoiler ſucceeded in his ſtead.

America is an exception to every other country in almoſt every thing. Agriculture was almoſt her only trade, by which means alone ſhe doubled her numbers every twenty-five years (as in ſome places ſhe has doubled, by the afflux from Europe, in ſixteen). But ſhe wanted no incentive from cities to take the redundancies of the huſbandman off his hand. The mother country ſupplied, by exportation, the want of cities. Nay ſhe ſtood little in need, even of exportation, to ſtimulate her induſtry. Her ſons paid little or no rent, but their labour, in clearing the ground. It was theirs, ſimply, to till the earth, marry young and get children. They were not deterred from matrimony by the difficulty of providing for a family. Children were their only riches. Their patrimony was before them, the ground which they could clear.

So that America has all the advantages of direct population from huſbandry, without thoſe diſadvantages, from mechanic trades, which obſtruct population in great cities. Indeed, a ſedentary life is every where, and in every claſs, hoſtile to

itſelf. For this I appeal to the ſtudent, the author, and the painter.

TILL the wilds of America are cleared, it will not be her wiſdom to affect manufactures; for, when her farmers turn artizans, and congregate in cities, ſhe will indubitably ceaſe to double her numbers every twenty-five years; unleſs the migrations to America ſhall be as great as before the preſent war.

COROL. 3. To prevent theſe migrations from Ireland, agriculture ſhould be our firſt object. Manufactures ſhould be only a ſecondary conſideration. They are at beſt but of a ſlow growth. Ours have to contend with ſuperior ſkill, eſtabliſhed connections, and unrivalled capitals; and when they have grown to perfection, in one ſpot, they may be eaſily conveyed to another. They may croſs the Atlantic. The new world is ſpacious enough to receive them all.

WHEREAS, if we cultivate old, or reclaim new, grounds, they remain with us; they detain the poſſeſſor, they feed new comers into the world, endeared, attached to their natal ſoil. The very fertility of Ireland has been hitherto detrimental to it—however paradoxical that may ſound—for in no other country, perhaps, can the labour of one man provide food for ſo many. And as there has been no market for the redundance (which remains on the farmer's hand) there is no incentive to labour, beyond providing for the mere neceſſaries of life. Of courſe idleneſs enſues; which, if any extraordinary rigour of ſeaſon comes on, produces ſcarcity and famine.

IN

* See Page 6.

In England, where the climate is not ſo ſteady, they are, by ſyſtematic diligence, always provided againſt the calamities of want, by only retrenching their exportation. Whereas in France, where the ſeaſons are ſtill more uncertain than in England, and where, 'till of late, exportation of grain was prohibited, they were oftener expoſed to famines than even the poor of Ireland.

Let the tillage of this country then receive new energy from the exportation of grain and malt liquors.

GOVERNMENT AND TAXATION.

Aph. 22. In order to ſimplify our theory, we have conſidered ſociety as in an uninterrupted progreſs of improvement, from the naſcent or ſavage ſtate, through the barbarous and civilized, to the moſt luxurious refinement of embelliſhed life.

But, alas! the hiſtory of human nature does not furniſh a ſingle inſtance where any nation has proceeded uniformly to our ideal perfection. However, Euclid's elements are not the leſs authoritative, becauſe a true ſquare, or exact circle, did never exiſt.

If we paint things as they are, we muſt group, in our foreground, ambition and avarice as the capital figures, and in the back-ground, pride and envy, jealouſy and injuſtice, fraud and force, their frightful ſatellites.

These have univerſally obſtructed national proſperity at one time or other. Yet China, Holland and England do give ſome faint glimmering of the practicability of our theory. It is the buſineſs of philoſophy to balance good and evil prin-

ciples againſt each other, and to make the paſſions, the prejudices, nay the very vices of the individual, miniſterial to the aggrandiſement of the ſocial ſyſtem.

APH. 23. We have ſeen (APH. 3.) that mankind has been always, and every where, found under ſubordination; government, of ſome ſort, being coeval with our knowledge of the ſpecies. The principle of all, however varying in form, originally was, that each individual ſhould give up, to a * ſovereignty, conſtituted by all, a certain portion of his liberty, ſervices, or property, as a price for the protection of the remainder.

APH. 24. Hence originate the different modes of taxation. And taxation has always become more unequal, i. e. more grievous as the government became leſs free. So that the rate and mode of taxation is no bad barometer of freedom.

THE operation of taxes is a matter of experiment. An unequal, i. e. a grievous, tax may be impoſed in a free ſtate: but, when the grievance is fully felt, the *unwiſe* law which enforced it will ſoon be repealed. If the grievance be long complained of, without redreſs, the ſtate, which ſuffers it, cannot be free.

THE financeering ſpirit damps enterprize ſtill more than the commercial inflames it. This truth is written in almoſt every page of the hiſtory of France; where change of miniſters has only

* No matter whether that ſovereignty be lodged in the hands of one, of few, of many, or of all three. In England ſovereignty was, at one time, annexed to the king's perſon; now, the delegated majeſty of the people is diffuſed over the whole legiſlature; and the king is only the firſt executive of this ſovereignty.

only produced new meaſures, and each new meaſure has tended to new exactions.

More danger, to the well-being of a ſtate, to be dreaded from the weakneſs or ignorance of legiſlators, in apportioning and levying taxes, than from the cruelty and caprice of a tyrant. This operates like a ſtorm or tempeſt, that like a malignant climate. Vain then will it be to remove external reſtrictions, if internal regulations be injudiciouſly conceived.

CONCLUSION.

A country may become opulent by manufactures and trade; but, without a large fund of agriculture, it never can be a powerful ſtate. The United Provinces, though the beſt cultivated ſpot in Europe, is a pregnant example of this truth. Theſe ſtates have puſhed induſtry as far as it could well go, in making their little territory an univerſal garden. But ſtill their territories are but a garden, or at moſt a domain. They certainly are not a ſufficient field for the population of a great ſtate.

Upon an extent of land, little more than a fourth of Ireland, they have more people and twenty times more wealth. If then we could conceive the limits of the provinces to be extended, year by year, in any certain progreſſion, it is evident, that population would annually increaſe in proportion to that enlargement; and of courſe, by a gradual acceſſion of home-territory, Holland would become great; an attribute which its preſent circumſcription forbids it to aſpire to.

France has been long a great nation, from its vaſt extent of fruitful territory, and from that influence, which the moſt elegant

elegant luxuries have upon the trade and manufactures of ſuch an ingenious people.

England, by cultivation of a moderate territory, by diligence in manufactures, and by application to trade, has emerged a powerful dominion. But, neither the extent of her home-territory—for as to her diſtant territories, I look upon them as mere occaſions of trade, and therefore not *directly* promotive of population—could have rendered her GREAT without manufactures and trade: Nor could theſe alone have effected it, without that conſequence, which ariſes from a cultivated territory of conſiderable extent; which, as has been remarked (APH 20.) is the elaboratory of the human ſpecies, and which ſupplies life and vigour, force and effect, to all the arts of peace and devices of war.

OF Ireland it may, in general, be remarked that it ſuffers all the diſadvantages of luxury, without partaking any of its benefits. For though it has been ſhewn (APH. 19 and 21) that luxury is a main ſpring in the ordinary courſe of national improvement, yet Ireland is a melancholy and perhaps ſingular exception.

IT is not without abundance of luxury; but, the materials of it being imported, this only carries out money; or, what is worſe, the *primums* of manufacture, which ſhould be wrought at home. Its imports are carried on in foreign bottoms, as well as its exports; ſo that its trade produces neither ſhips nor ſailors. Without reacting by a uſeful reciprocation of commodities, her commerce waſtes the country, by carrying out that raw material, which ſhould employ hands, and that money which ſhould pay them. Now, without manufactures, there

there can be little incitement to agriculture. Accordingly the fineſt parts of the kingdom are not tilled.

ULSTER, indeed, the worſt part, is generally tilled; becauſe there is an eſtabliſhed manufacture there. But the tillage is ſo vile, that it does not produce half of what it might do, if ſkilfully cultivated. There, almoſt every weaver is a farmer. Trades are not yet fully ſeparated, as they ought to be (APH. 8.) in every ſociety perfectly civilized.

IF this portrait be like, let not national prejudice be ſhocked, but let national wiſdom remove the reproach. If profuſion in bounties not only exhauſts the fund of liberality, but does poſitive miſchief, to thoſe arts it would encourage—if the revenue laws, inſtead of raiſing the revenue, in proportion to the encreaſe of conſumption, proſtrate all ſpirit of improvement—and if, in conſequence, the exigencies of the ſtate be, every year, running the nation in debt; can it be amiſs, to call legiſlative attention, to the operation of bounties and taxes?

IF ingenuity ſhould ſpy out exceptions to general doctrines, let it not precipitately condemn; but let it conſider how difficult it muſt be (in this conciſe, ſummary method) to anticipate all objections. Gentlemen, who have not much turned their minds to ſuch ſpeculations, may miſconceive: and miſconception may miſrepreſent. It ſometimes happens that when readers have conjured up a phantom in their own imaginations, they congratulate themſelves for exorciſing a monſter of the writer's fancy. I earneſtly requeſt a patient, nay a ſecond, peruſal of theſe Aphoriſms: Candour will not reprobate, before it underſtands. I have entered into no detail: philoſophy delights in univerſals.

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